the Change of location would probably cause a falling off of two thirds of the Subscribers. — There are local wants that must be met. — One course of Editorial labor is adapted to old veteran troops who want to be led on, to new Conquests. — Another Course of elementary discipline is needed for readers who have been a less time in the School. [A large portion of my readers are raw recruits and need drilling] Both papers, therefore, seem to be needed. — I grant it is no small additional expense but I believe the expense cannot be spared, especially at this time. — Jacksons Farewell Address, Van-Buren's Inaugural, & the Course of the Albany legislature, leave us no room to doubt that the State of N. York will be drilled, if possible, by its party machinery, to the sticking point of responding to the demands of a Southern Convention. — The great battle field of the Coming Campaign is the "Empire State" — the "last hope" to both of Slavery and of Freedom! The "true policy" for the present, both of your Committee & of ours, is to fortify the State of New York. — From your Capitol, the note of defiance has been pretty distinctly heard — But a "Southern Convention" will probably be held, and, by help of "Lynch Law" & "penitentiary" terrors, put on the air of an Unanimous(!) appeal. — The problem is, whether the North, & especially the State of N.Y. shall be gulled and over awed by it. Here lies the Chief danger. — Surely, it must be a bad time time for spiking our Utica guns, now. — No: brother: we must "Go ahead". As for your going back into the "Ministry" unless you mean an Anti Slavery lecturing Agency, it is out of the Question. — What? Sound your trumpet of defiance & retire? That will never do. — I had better stay at Utica, & you had better stay at N. York: As Editor, or as Secretary, & in either case, as a member of the Committee, you are wanted at N. York. — Don't be discouraged. — You are doubtless tried with the broker-like policy of the Committee — & so was I tried, in a darker hour than the present. Two years ago last August, the question was not simply, of retrograde but --- what shall I say? — It was not proposed to surrender, but if one more of the Committee had followed, (as I feared) the ethics of C. G. F. and the example of W. G. Junr. it would have been a Surrender. — The Emancipator was to have been stopped, sans ceremonie & every agent called in. — The offer of L. T. turned the Scale. My proposal to travel 3 months, after Subscribers & funds helped to quiet the panic & suspend suicide. — The help I obtained was of less consequence than the gaining of time for the development of new Providences & the returning hopes they inspired. — Hold on, then, I say. & "don't give up the Ship". Some other editor can be found, if needed — or a Secretary can be found, which will give you a chance to remain Editor. — Hodges Reed, of Taunton, if he could be drawn out, would make one of the most popular Editors in the Country. His smoothe style, and easy, light, yet pithy Sang

(from last page) & that he will not, in any way, [illegible] Sanction from any part of the Report, until he sees my answer in full. — The main object of L. Bacon will be obtained, if he can withdraw the name of Gerrit Smith from the Condemnation of the Report, which he foresees must fix future infamy upon his name. The fear of this infamy is the only Security the people of this Country have for their liberties. — Only let them ease off the pressure that Gerrit Smith's name adds to the Report, and the hierarchy would be strengthened to go on

& I beg you, when it reaches you to scrutinize it with special care, and if you see any thing that Leonard Bacon can hang a thread upon, I beg you to withhold it long

* enough to write Gerrit Smith your own views of the matter. — Perhaps these suggestions are needless. But I know how the ties of personal friendship often blind good men to the machinations of the bad. Yours. W. Goodell.

pow'd, would take, I think, with your most fastidious City Critics, while his good sense would commend him, every where. — I am inviting, for myself, a powerful Competitor, if you can get him — But - n'importe — — "Pro bono publico" is the motto of abolitionism. Reed is a man of quick perception — great tact — accurate discrimination — well drilled in the metaphysics of the Emmons School — yet, nevertheless, a favorite Correspondent of the Old Methodist Zion's Herald, eight or ten years ago: — afterwards of the National Philanthropist, Boston — Genius of Temperance, N.York, &c. &c. — He generally writes comparatively short articles, tho' frequently in a Series of numbers, and says things that nobody else would ever think of, before he read it, but which every body understands and assents to the moment he ~~sees~~ reads it. His Signature was S.D. You could find some of his articles, in the files of the "National Philan. & Gen. of Temp. — in the possession of A.R. Crain of your city. ~~Ten years ago, I found~~ Reed lived in Boston while I was there — was a dry goods merchant — afterwards returned to Taunton, & keeps, I believe, a retail shop there, with his brother. ~~Ten~~ about a years ago, I found him in the Mass. Legislature: — one of the few Abolitionists then in the House. I have since seen his name among the Officers of the County A.S. Soc. of Bristol Co. — Of the peculiar type of his abolitionism, I cannot confidently speak, but in the Temperance Cause he was always an ultra, &, I think has always been a decided friend of Garrison, ever since he was acquainted with Garrison, Whittier, & myself in Boston in 1828 — 9. 30

I have this moment rec'd: a line from Gerrit Smith, informing that he is about forwarding you a short answer to Leonard Bacon, for the N.Y. Obs. & Emancipator "leaving it for me to defend my Report"! I have written him my earnest desire #
(See back)

18
Single Paid

Rev. Amos A. Phelps
city of New York

PAID

UTICA

Trumbull — & what other information you can suggest.

Your letter, let me say, "in Confidence" suggests good reasons why I should not take charge of the Emancipator as some of you seem to desire. Unanimity in the Selection of an Editor is important, & I know some of the N.York brethren differ from me in respect to the mode in which the paper should be conducted. — In respect to the policy of the Committee, likewise, your opinion & influence, while it would be on the same side with my own, would be more influential & weighty with the individuals upon whose minds it is most needed. —— More than this. — I think the very fact of changing backward & forward so soon, would have an unpleasant effect — it would be inconvenient & expensive. — Perhaps I misjudge, but it seems to me I can do more good here than in N.York. — The farming population, who read with most interest my long prosing lucubrations, are here at my elbow. I am planted in the very heart of them, and it is to this class that the nation must look, under God, for its salvation; they are also the class we have most neglected, in our efforts. When I left the paper in N.York, it was about to appear only as a Monthly — I was worn down with labor & thought I could be spared. — I had plans also for a settlement in the Country, but they did not succeed. Finding myself recruited in strength, I accepted the unexpected invitation from Utica, believing it was the best way in which I could occupy my energies in the cause, whatever they might be. Had I suspected that any of the friends in New York, were adverse to such an establishment at Utica, I should have given their objections a serious consideration. But I did not dream of them. Nor did I know, at that time, that the weekly Emancipator would be resumed. — Weld joined strenuously with the Utica friends in urging that I should "say Yes" and I said it. — I have not found the field less interesting and important than I expected. To leave the field now would almost be a breach of good faith — not so much to the Utica friends, to whom an explanation could be made, as to hundreds of scattered friends, all over the State, who have been induced to make exertions for an object which they would now consider as abandoned. — It would weaken confidence in any future enterprize that might be proposed, if the present should be abandoned so soon. The principal difficulties have already been surmounted. A press had been purchased & paid for, & if a paper is to be continued here, there seems no good reason why I should leave it, to go to N.York, & a new Editor can as well be procured for N.York as for Utica. I am already on the spot and in the work. — If the Subscription list of the "Friend of Man" should be transferred to the Emancipator,

with fresh energy. Already the Presbyterians in Penn. are beginning to follow the Connecticut example. Let this run thro the Presb. Church — let the ~~Statement be~~ Statesmen be led on by the Ecclesiastics, and we are gone. Considering the present poise, it would not be strange if the single name of Gerrit Smith in this precise connexion, should turn the Scale. — What he has written I do not know, but

Bro. Phelps. Utica 13 April 1837.

PHELPS MSS.

5—

William Goodell

Yours of the 10th reached me last evening. — I have seen nothing yet of the Vol of Trumbull's History of Con. and fear I shall not have an opportunity to send for it, by any one who is soon returning. — Can you not tell me, briefly, the chief facts, or classes of facts, which you think will be useful to me — and the part of the Volume that contains it? — Whether the Vol. reaches me or no, I should like to know *what* it is that can be proved from Trumbull, that would be useful in a reply to Mr. Bacon. — I am addressing him a series of Letters — probably three or four — of perhaps 4 Columns each. — The first is in the hands of the printer. The second is in progress, and in this, I have already intimated some things respecting the History & character of the Saybrook platform & the enactments of 1708. I have done this from memory having no Books by me, & not knowing that I have ever read any thing on the subject from Trumbull. — I have said I remembered seeing, in Con. above 30 years ago, 2 venerable ministers of whom it was said, in reference to their old age, that they were "settled upon the Old Saybrook platform." — I have intimated how the "rural parishes" occupied the entire soil of the State — & how the ~~minister~~ "pastor" of "each parish" claimed the exclusive "right" of religious teaching within his own parish — how Cleveland (of Canterbury!) was *imprisoned* for preaching without due authority — how Methodist Ministers were protested against as intruders, when they first crossed the Byram river — how the poor man's last Cow was attached for the payment of the Minister's Salary. — I have said that the "platform" was always considered at variance with the Congregational principle — that its adoption was opposed, at the time, by ~~the~~ Consistent Congregationalists — that it was adopted thro' the influence of men who preferred *another* System of Ch. polity to the Congregational — that, in consequence of its adoption, the very *name* of Congregationalist, in Con. began to be laid aside — that the Churches came to be called by the name of *another* Sect, [i.e. the Presb.] a practice which was not wholly discontinued to the present day. — I said the disuse of the *name* began to be taken for a relinquishment of the *thing*, until, goaded by one stride after another of the "pastors" for Supremacy of power the Congrega*tional laity* re asserted their rights, & continued the Contest until "the platform" itself gave way under the feet of "the pastors" who had elevated themselves upon it. — Pray write, on rec.t of this, & tell me whether these facts are not correct — whether they are not corroborated

(from last page) & that he will not, in any way, ~~can~~ *Sanction* from any *part* of the Report, until he sees my answer in full. — The *main object* of L. Bacon will be obtained, if he can withdraw the name of *Gerrit Smith* from the Condemnation of the Report, which he foresees must fix future infamy upon his name. The *fear of this infamy* is the only Security the people of this Country have for their liberties. — Only let them *ease off the pressure* that *Gerrit Smith's name* adds to the Report, and the hierarchy would be strengthened to go on

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